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778 They agreed that Ndoeria had rebuilt many rumah pemali. I must go there sometime.

●574 Back in Roworeke, the kapitan gave us sweet soft drinks and port wine (Chinese). Then he put 291 on his adat dress, including a batik headcloth 386 which was winged in front, and a fine ikat slen- [287] dang, and a woven sarong. There seems to be no more tapa around here. The colors of the woven and ikat stuff are dark, including blue, black, and dull red. They are not very attractive, and the cloth is quite heavy. I saw women with baskets full of leafy stuff (small leaves) and I asked what was inside. They said tarum [indigo] and that it is usei to make the blue and black dye. Thus they still use locally made dyes, but in Roworeke the red dye is bought in a store.

126 I took a picture of the kapitan and his wife and family including the fine type old mother. 621 We then started on a tour of the kampong. We went first across the road to Watu Roga. It is small and evidently most of the Wanda suku are. 342 There is one large house, but most of the others 178 are rather small. They are not of the high pitched roof type. I was told that before the war there were more of the old high roof type, but the Japanese leveled many of them to make the people move into the hills as they said the population was too dense near the town. I can't quite get the point, but new houses tend to be low, four sloped roofed, rather long and squat in type, but still look primitive because of the alang-alang thatched roof and many with the coconut leaf midrib walls. The walls, however, are usually low or invisible because they are under the low-hanging roof. Hence they are hooded.

349 In Watu Roga there is a high concrete struc- 769 ture looking something like a watchtower with 614 steps leading up. It has a four-sloped tin roof. 766 There is a low wall around a small rectangular space under the roof. The flooring is of tile,

Ina.

304 was more common formerly. The tattooing occurs on the arms, face, and chest. In Tandjung Bunga there is a lot of tattooing. Sometimes this is done on the back of the calves too. The young people do it no longer. However, the guru's daughter has her name tattooed on her arm.

342 The houses have upright sticks at the ridge ends, but the guru says this is of no significance.

764 Stones called nubanara are all over the kampong, lying flat mainly. I wonder if maybe these could have been used for graves in this kampong before, because the nubanara are scattered like the graves in Ende.

346 178 535 368 At the top of the kampong is the korke of the kampong, and in front is a nama, or rectangular dance place. This consists of a platform built up of stones. Some of the stones should stand (four, one for each of the main suku; but the guru says there may be more than four standing). This appears in Vatter's[1] photo of another nama. These former uprights here have fallen down and he says the people do not bother to erect them again. This is a sign of the steady breakdown of paganism. On the dance place there is an old drum left standing. It is evidently no longer used. The korke is empty, and has merely a bale-bale under a roof. No walls are left. The roof has not been repaired, which again may show the breakdown. Near the korke is a large house of [614] the tuan tanah of the main suku, and near this is the korke of his suku. In addition to the kampong korke, there is one for each suku, but no nama in front of these. These korke are used by the kepala suku, who is also the tuan tanah of the suku, for suku rites regarding rain illness, etc. The main korke is used for kampong rites. [574] When a feast is thus given, the big men sit on the bale-bale in the korke, and the dancers per- [534] form in front to the music of a drum and gong.

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

chiefs and also clear up the exact differences between the kepala suku and the kepala kampong, if any.

The next day I got an explanation of the officers. The three kepala kampong (called Kottang, Kelen and Hurint) are the administrative officers. They are chosen by their respective suku. They have no ritual function as such, unless they happen also to be either kepala suku of their suku or the kelake of their ama. The radja tuan and the kelake are also chosen by their respective suku and ama, but from the noble lineage within the suku. They must come from the "big house" (Lango' Bele'). Each suku has one such big house, and so does each ama. I have seen them in Leloba. I found out, however, that the head and feet are not actually held by the kepala suku Kottang and Kelen, but rather by some man, evidently it matters not who, from their suku. Also, the kepala suku Hurint himself does not actually cut (though evidently he may do so if he wants to), but usually delegates the job to one of his fellow suku members.

It happens then, in Wailolong, that there are five radja tuan and three kepala kampong. Then there are the kelake.

If they hold a suku feast, i.e., a feast on the land of the suku itself and which concerns only the suku, it runs something like this in each of the suku:

Ama Datong	Head:	Man from Ama Radja.
	Feet:	Man from Ama Belolong.
	Cut:	Man called in from Ama Hurint, but may not be from Nipatale.
Leworitä	Head:	Man from IIa.
	Feet:	Man from IIb.
	Cut:	Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

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Ama Hurint	Head:	Man called from Ia or Ib.
	Feet:	Man called from IIa or IIb.
	Cut:	Man from Hurint, except Nipatale.
Lewato	Head:	Man from IVa.
	Feet:	Man from IVb.
	Cut:	Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.
Lewodoreng	Head:	Man from Va.
	Feet:	Man from Vb.
	Cut:	Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

If a kampong feast is held for all of the people, the setup is as follows:

Head:	Man from Ama Radja (Ia).
Feet:	Man from Subamaki(ng) (IIa).
Cut:	Man from III, except Nipatale.

614 567 423 582 [796] [753]

The Nipatale groups--in Wailolong they are IIIa2 and IVa2; in Leloba IV-1b--are former slaves, bought respectively by the Ama Hadumbole(ng Waru'i(ng), and Lewamaki(ng) amas. They have no ritual standing and they may never hold or cut. They just look on. Also, they have no land of their own, but use the land of their masters (i.e., the ama who bought their ancestors). They must give the first fruits of their gardens to these masters, and if they do not they get sick. He says that they were bought from Adonara not long ago, perhaps about four generations. They are not really free yet. They must obey the orders of their masters. In ordinary life, however, this is a matter of adat and respect (hormat), and they are not ashamed. It is really a matter of (a) owning no land of their own; (b)

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693 632 624 [622] tions. Murder, theft, etc., come to the kepala kampong or kapitan. Such cases are not within the adat sphere. These officials do not interfere with each other's spheres.

632 624 622 The situation in regard to the offices is as follows: The Big Four of the gemeente who are also the Little Four of Roworeke (combined with Worowai) are respectively from Rewarangga, Odja, Rewarangga, and Rewarangga. All except the giri tumba are from Worowai, and here there is a rumah berhala. Only an Odja or a Rewarangga man (and he must be a resident of Roworeke) may be elected kapitan or kepala kampong of Roworeke. In each of the other kampongs there are families in which the Little Fours are hereditary posts. This position is inherited from father to eldest son.

[796] There are no set ritual functions associated with these offices, but the mosa laki mere of the Big Four (I think) must always be there for a big ceremony, and he must receive the lower jaws of the animals slaughtered. I note that an alternative term for the four mosa laki is tuan tanah.

771 796 Some of the people here are Catholics, and I asked if they still did the ritual and prayed when they held a big ceremony. He say yes, and that Catholicism makes no difference in this matter. He was firm in stating that there are Catholic things and adat things. They are

796 241 574 527 separate. The two main feasts of the year are those held at planting and at harvest time, when the crops are brought in ritually to the kampong. At these feasts the mosa are the leaders and the big leader is the local mosa laki mere. There is animal slaughter, dancing, singing, and praying. They wear festive clothes.

[614] [342] 000 And there is also a big suku feast when the bone house of a suku is rebuilt. Thousands attend. Smaller private rites are held for such

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784 There is definite totemism here though some
614 clans have no taboos or totem ancestors. But
611 it is the usual thing. Weol may not use one
769 kind of bamboo, because the ancestors were born
562 of this bamboo. Pau may not eat a certain kind of monkey, as the ancestors were linked (this is the assistant's va'u). Women marrying out of the va'u may eat the totem of their own clan but must go through a special rite. Men may never give up the totem taboos, even if they live in an ambil anak arrangement.

574 The next day we went to Weol and up to the
273 kampong with the assistant. We brought native
276 tobacco and gin which we had bought for fl. 2.00
123 in Ruteng. As we entered the kampong, on the right we noted the house of the kepala kampong. Next to it is that of the tuan tanah, where we sat on the front porch. Both of these houses are of the new style, but are sooty because there are no chimneys. The children carried two chairs up from Tjantjar for us and later brought a table from the school. However, the assistant and the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong sat on a mat on the floor. Others were in the background. On the rise in front was a great crowd. We gave gin and tobacco to the old people and
[262] were later served first coffee and then two hard boiled eggs. Others got no eggs. The eggs came by chain-passing from the next kampong, Ndung. Evidently eggs are something special. The old tuan tanah knows everything, and his brother the kepala kampong is old and smart too. The kepala of the third panga of Weol kampong sat in the rear. He too is old.

632 The daluschap Rahong is one of the thirty-
621 nine in Manggarai. The dalu are of Bima origin, or at least this is true of most of them. There are thirty-three kampongs in Rahong. The tuan tanah knows all of them, including the constellations. They are as follows:

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872 one-half years ago. Children of, for example,
[177] fifteen can't enter this school because they are too old. This is a big reason why there is less acculturation here than in Larantuka.
624 Also, Larantuka has lost the power of adat
622 chiefs to a greater degree, as has Ende. Here
177 they still are the most powerful leaders, and even the kepala kampong are of the tuan tanah family. This is clearly the area of least acculturation, although in agriculture and technology they are just as advanced if not more so than in the other areas. For example, witness the wooden houses. But adat is stronger here, and the mother's brother's daughter marriage still stands. The priests still compromise
527 more with the old. There are many many feasts.
574 There are feasts at birth, death, marriage, if
796 there are many children, at planting, at har-
756 vest, when a new garden is made, when a new
755 house is erected, and on many other occasions. Some of these are large and some are small. Some are for the family, and some are celebrated by larger units. Some are celebrated by the entire kampong. The biggest is perhaps the cleansing of the kampong ceremony. The medicine man, mbako decided when one is needed. Thus he says there is a lot of illness, etc., and it is time they had a "tjutji kampong."

756 There is at least one mbako in each kampong,
609 and some kampongs have more. He learns his trade from his father, but there are cases where such succession is not followed. There is one in Weol. However, they will never tell an outsider who the mbako is. He is secret. They all know who he is. However, even during a rite, he keeps in the background so that he can be kept hidden. Query: Is this because of the fear of the mission or the government or what? I couldn't get much about the latter, but I will try later. This is amazing!

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776 The main god, called in the books Mori Kraeng, is properly called Moring Agunaran.

565 554 Kraeng here is the original title for high nobility, but it has been cheapened now and any big may use this as a title. Thus the kepala kampong may be called kraeng.

796 614 782 231 [887] At ceremonies animals are cut up. This is done by families or pangas. Each man in the group sacrificing the beast, touches its neck with his knife, and finally one who is very clever kills the animal. (This is like the touching of the head stuff in Borneo head-hunting.) Praying is done by a clever old man. He is not necessarily the tuan tanah or mbako or any set person.

526 535 574 555 The whip dance (main tjatji, as they say here) is done at many feasts. Each house has some costumes, and the men may use them. They say that it is true in these whip dances that they try to hurt the opponents, and that the girls admire one who has put out another's eye.

764 In these two kampongs there are no graves under the holy trees, but they say that there are graves under the tree at Ruteng.

535 527 526 533 [276] [887] 200 In the afternoon we went to see some fine dancing on the Ruteng alun-alun. This is part of the week long independence festival. The lads are still doing the whip stuff, and they get prizes if they draw blood. There are scars on the backs of many of the men because of this. There was a troupe of amazingly dressed men from kampong Ruteng who were dancing and singing. Betel ingredients were passed to them. Two old women were beating drums to all sorts of rhythms, and there was also a lad beating on a gong. Later two women played two gongs, and women and men played drums. This entertainment was complicated and good. Most drummers and gong players seem to be old women. These

361 kampong, or rather two suku living there, one
614 living on the level of the road and the other
621 a bit down the hill to the rear. However, they
are adjacent. The two suku are Naru and Lodo.
[211] At the road border of the kampong a bit in from
the road, standing against the skyline, is a
row of tall roughly chiseled stone pillars
looking like gigantic stone age scrapers or axe
heads. They are thin and tall. They are set
on a rectangular stone mound. Surrounding the
[417] kampong is a raised stone border as is typical
of all kampongs in this region, so that the
kampong itself is located down in a stone wall
enclosure.

346 Below the first row of stone pillars there
769 is another with just as many stones. It is also
531 set on a mound. Just below this stands the
umbrella-like ndaru for male ancestors, and on
one side there is a living tree with Y-branches
at the fork. Stones are heaped around the
ndaru and tree. The ndaru is about twelve feet
high, and consists of a single pillar with
thatched cap. The pillar is made of hebuh wood
and is carved in fancy designs which are hard
to make out. It also has eyes, a nose and a
mouth (on another one, in Brova, the eyes were
made of white shell). Looking under the cap I
could see that the pillar forks were in the
shape of a U, and so it is really about the
same as the Nagoh peo, but less clearly Y-shaped
and covered with a cap.

342 To either side of the plaza, which was of
361 earth, stood a line of houses, which were small
and had rather low roofs. These houses are set
on piles. On one side was the house of the
624 mori ndaru, who is also the kepala kampong.
769 The mori ndaru is the highest man, like the tuan
346 tanah, and he is the one who sets up the ndaru.
565 There can be more than one ndaru per kampong.
554 Evidently any bangsawan can give a feast in
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565 order to set up a new ndaru, and thus increase
554 his fame. However, a common man cannot do this.
769 Buffaloes must be sacrificed on such occasions.
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574 Also, buffalo sacrifices are needed for putting
[782] a new roof on the ndaru. There is a "younger"
mori ndaru who lives on the other side of the
plaza. This has some relation to the elder and
younger brother stuff mentioned in the manu-
script report on Soa by a priest. Mommersteeg[1]
342 has lent me this report. The mori ndaru house
624 has a wood post in front, on either side be-
532 side the steps. They are rather thin and low
and are carved in a human form. This is known
as the ata deo, or rather these are the ata
deo.

342 Also, beside the door of the house and on the
531 porch are two richly carved wooden rectangles
measuring about 3x2 feet. This looks like the
[171] Balinese stuff and consists mainly of scrolls
so far as I could see.

237 Not only on the houses of the mori ndaru
342 but also on others, we noted many lower jaws of
531 pigs, wild pigs with tusks, deer horns, and
buffalo horns. These are partly ranged along a
rack under the roof eaves and partly, especially
true of the buffalo horns, stuck in beside the
wall of the porch. We later found out that the
ata deo may be used by others than the mori
ndaru, but evidently the carved wood slabs are
only for him. I saw some especially elaborate
lower jaw carvings on a barn in Brova.

346 In the lower kampong, Lodo, which has a low
231 stone wall between it and Naru, there is the
[624] house of the mori ndaru (thus each suku, voi,
has a mori ndaru, and there may be more than
one per kampong) and the rest of the things
just mentioned. The ndaru there, however, has
a worn-out roof, and when I asked why there had
been no renewal they said that they would do so,
but they would have to get the buffalo first.

[1] [pastor at Soa -- Analyst]

632 Then we went to Soa, which is a kepala mere
361 district, with the kepala mere at Brova. It is
435 a complex of nearby kampongs set in a rich
433 plain. It is warm here, as it is in a valley.
Alfons says that this is the richest part of
Ngada, with plenty of agriculture and lots of
animals. (The lowest price of a horse here is
fl. 100.00 and for a buffalo fl. 80.00. The
[262] lowest price for a dog, which is eaten as a
great delicacy, is fl. 10.00. Prices go much
higher.

We had to go off the road on a path over
361 which no car had gone for many years. We went
224 to the church of Mommersteeg, but he was not in.
The kampong nearby was Masu, but there are lots
of others, making almost a metropolitan area.
All these people are Nageh, outlyers here in
Ngada territory. These are the ones that have
occasional big hunting rites, and they do a lot
[237] of hunting. I note many jaws here, especially
those of tusked wild pigs in addition to the
deer horns. The only time the people here get
515 water on their bodies is when it rains and once
● 514 a year when all the kampongs in turn have the
great deli feast, at which time men splash water
on the women and vice versa.

346 In the center of these kampongs one sees
769 mostly the real forked and uncapped peo, but
778 some have the ndaru, perhaps taken over from the
532 Ngada. The peo is set on a stone mound. There
are other stone mounds too. There are no watu
lewa, the long pillars of the Ngada, however.
There are sacred trees here too. The peo are
carved, and it was at Brova that I saw the fine
shell eyes set in a peo.

342 We walked around this kampong and a few
624 others. They had stone enclosures and the
532 houses of the mosi ndaru (but a different name
417 is used here, I think). They also have the
000 carved wooden slabs, and the ata deo too. Every-

574 He furnished us with fair food, rice and chicken, and coffee, and then fixed up the beds without mosquito nets in one room. The son of 872 the mandur of the pasanggrahan of Badjawa was with us, on his way to school in Ende, and he had a little packet of clothes, a canteen and a ukulele. The latter was in sad condition. 484 He slept on the floor on a mat. The next morning we just about made it across the river with our goods lifted by the men in order to lighten the jeep. This was a hard experience, and we decided to make the western run only once 132 more, at the end. This rainy season is too hard here and it is dangerous because there is always a risk of delay from floods or landslides. Ende seemed luxurious after this run to the west.

124 The assistant was in Ende for a tax meeting of kapitan, and after noon I took him and the kapitan and the latter's servant to Roworeke. They had to work on taxation in the afternoon, so I decided to start in tomorrow morning. Roworeke, as usual, is always troublesome. The jeep was overcrowded with many riders. I took them out, and came back with a load.

Incidental notes on Flores: 482 We saw the use of a tumpline in Sikka. This is true also for Nageh and Ngada. They use this for carrying loads especially in Sikka and also for betel ingredients in Ngada. They use small plaited bags.

302 Girls in Ngada and Nageh have half-shaved tonsures. This is not true of all, but certainly of many of the girls. There are variations in style, including topknots. I note the latter on boys too.

721 A Ngada man denied head-hunting at any time 346 and said that there is no head under the new 231 ndaru, but rather a red dog, a pig, and a cock, all buried alive. But ENI says that there was [554] head-hunting and that Ngada heroes had goatskin bands under their knees formerly.

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614 unknown. Nioreko also has a rumah berhala, an
778 actual house, but it is merely temporary and
346 lasts only seven to eight years. Then it is
764 rebuilt. It has no ana deo. This is a kind of intermediate type of situation.

14. Marunggo'o has no shrine. Thus suku Reandona evidently has none.

15. Pu'umbindi has a shrine, but the suku is unknown.

16. Mbago has a shrine, but the suku is unknown.

17. Pemodjera has a shrine, but the suku is unknown. Also, like Nioreko, Pemodjera has a temporary rumah berhala house, which is rebuilt when it collapses.

18. Sokopedji does not even have a shrine. It is a new kampong.

614 This is interesting and goes to show that
178 the suku were localized before. I asked why
829 there were so many in the census for which the suku were unknown. They said that if their parents did not tell them, they never learned this information. It shows a breakdown in the system, but it is still very important. Real disintegration is just beginning. I scolded them to the effect that they as government men of Rewarangga did not even know the suku of the kampongs in their district. I said that the people in the United States would think that they were poor administrators. They said that this suku business was adat only and that they were concerned with government only. I pointed out that even the giri tumba besar seemed vague about all of this outside of his own kampong, and he is a leader of adat. They begged off saying that perhaps he didn't understand what I was after.

778 It is notable that only the four kampongs
769 with real rumah berhala (Volofeo, Bu'ubedi,
346 Ratebedi, and Vavoëü) have annual ancestor
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778 feasts. Thus it is like Barupu in Toradja.
769 (Ratebedi is one of the Rabu kampongs.
346 Vavoëü is another, and so is the non-shrine
574 kampong Kekamberu. The others which have merely the grave-bone shrines have a feast only when they need to fix up a shrine.

632 The next day we went to Roworeke again. Note an error in the preceding notes: The sikesani besar, who lives in Worowai, is of the suku Nggonggora'ba. Thus the Big Four are as follows: Mosa laki mere of Rewarangga, Giri tumba of Odja. Ndeto au of Rewarangga, and Sikesani of Nggonggora'ba. The names of these posts mean: mosa, male (animal); laki, male (human); mere, big; giri, around; tumba, spear (he walks around with a spear); ndetu, many colored; au, bamboo; sike, here; sani, there.

181 I am always impressed by the combination of
124 lack of courtesy and the cringing servility of
576 these Endenese. They constantly talk to each other when I am talking, pass remarks about me in Endenese, etc. At the same time they keep on "tuarming" and bowing. They are grasping too. For example, the kapitan looks steadily at my gold watch and band and asked me to sell him U.S. gold pieces. The assistant asked me to give him personally a ring-spiral notebook such as used for the work. He can't answer questions on the schedule, so I have to do it all. The kapitan is a bit better, and the guru is smarter, but I get the idea that these folk are a rather poor lot.

784 Again we got on to the subject of totemism.
262 The word for such taboos is pire. I doubt that
614 I got the whole story, but as far as I can see
562 there are three kinds of totem taboos and they apply to foods:

(1) Suku or pu'u taboo. This is called pire ngguäh, the latter term meaning "descen-

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721 guages and thus carry on negotiations) would
[634] request soldiers. Such wars were usually against the coastal folk on the north, that is, Lio and Ende there. In the old days, just
721 about every outside kampong was considered
484 dangerous and it was seldom that a trip was
578 made there unless a bond of friendship existed
178 between one's kampong and the area visited.
[608] Now all of these kampongs are friendly. Still I note that they don't like to sleep all night outside the kampong. This is especially true of the old folks.

829 Note on ideas concerning the "place" of the local kampong in the world: In just about every kampong, when I ask about the ranking of world countries in population, they do not know what to say (although a young boy knew that China was the largest), but at once the assistant and others get paper and copy down the exact ranking from me with figures. They evidently want to spring the question on other people and stick them. It does show a definite curiosity about these things.

608 The people here have a sort of pela bond
574 between kampongs, or at least they did at one
578 time in the past. They do not drink the blood
178 of each other as in Ambon, but they hold a feast and drink the blood and eat the hearts of the animals killed. And they eat together. They pledge that they will not war against each other and that they will show a certain degree of hospitality to each other. Thus Roworeke has such a bond with Waturoga, Waturoga with Ndona, etc. This was all in the past, and I didn't find out if there are any survivals. I think there are, because the guru from Ndona said that it is easy for him to live in Waturoga as his kampong had a bond with it. In addition, he married in.

721 War was tabooed by the Dutch in 1908, and
648 since then there have been no wars.
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000 since then there have been no wars.

614 The great suku feasts are a kind of re-
●574 fresher of the gemeente bond, as all the suku
632 of the area come and feast and pledge friend-
624 ship. Thus, if Odja has a suku feast for re-pairing the grave-bones shrine, the other five big suku (and also others who are invited) attend. (The five are Rewarangga, Nggonggora'ba, Reandona, Wanda, and Gusa-Tibo). Thus the suku feasts are gemeente affairs as well as of a genealogical group. The mosa laki mere must be present at all such feasts, even though it is not of his own suku. Incidentally, he is the same man as the kolu, mentioned by Suchtelen[1] as the "tuan tanah." This kolu word is evidently used especially in his function as an agricultural priest. Thus he is an adat judge and agricultural priest at the same time. The mosa laki mere involved is the mosa laki mere of the kampong involved; thus here he is the big one, as the kampong mosa laki mere of Worowai-Roworeke is also the mosa laki mere of the gemeente.

[237] He gets the lower jaws of all the sacrificed
[342] animals. Nowadays he throws them away after
[178] eating, but formerly all bones from such occasions were kept and were put on the houses. Thus there is a clear relation involved between the jaws on the Ngada houses of the tuan tanah there and such occasions (and distantly to the Mentawei and Punan animal jaws). Note that he gets the lower jaws.

538 As for legends and stories of the past, at
533 first they said that they have none, or rather
[124] that they had forgotten what they might have had. I prodded on and told them about the Balai Pustaka man getting stories of Indonesia for schools. They loosened up a bit, and it seems that they do have plenty. I instructed the assistant to get a few as samples. They said

[1] [See p.70 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography, col.113--Analyst]

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Little meat is
262 eaten, and this is done only during feasts. There are some eggs. They do not eat much fish, because they must purchase them. They do buy some food from the local store (never any canned food, because this is too expensive), for example, rice and salt. They do not grow [249] any tobacco.

434 To get the small amount of money they need to buy in the toko, they sell coconuts and anything else they may have, which is usually quite little. Fl. 5.00 in cash is a lot of money for a man here.

264 The people here eat three times a day, a little in the morning, and equally heavy noon and evening meals.

262 They like dog meat and also horse meat, but
574 these, like pig and goat, are only eaten at the time of a feast. They say that the main feasts are funeral ones. They also say that the people here have no decided preference and will gladly eat any kind of meat. They [266] say they have no memory of cannibalism except for the eating of the hearts of enemies for
224 bravery in warfare. They rarely hunt. If they
262 do they use a bow and are lucky to get monkeys
624 or pigs. There are no deer here. There is a clear case for meat hunger here, and the only material gain of being a mosa laki is that you [465] are always given a piece of meat when an animal [171] is killed. This is like the Toradja pattern, and shows how much of a luxury meat really is. It is the "government man's salary."

436 Formerly there was no money and there were
178 no toko. Of course there may have been a few
443 gold pieces, but they were really sacred objects. Today they have little cash.

243 The irrigated rice fields started three
177 years ago and were instigated by Hadji Akbar
788 of Watu Roga. He went to Mecca and saw the many sawah in Bima, Java, and elsewhere. When

166 578 affect mainly the younger branches of panga. The older ones are too important to leave.

[592] Most of the people who leave go as households, except for the men who marry out.

166 574 621 527 Those who leave never come back, as far as the assistant knows, but there have been returnees in other kampongs. They do come back, however, for the big feasts in the mother kampong. There are five kinds of festive returnees: (1) for kampongs in the gelarang Veol, all must come to Veol for the big feast, and so must Veol go to the tjabang kampong feasts. (2) for kampongs in the dalu Rahong, but in other gelarang, if there is a big feast, a delegation must be sent to the mother kampong, and vice versa. These kampongs have their own tuan tanah in the new Veol kampongs, whereas type (1) kampongs have only a tjabang tuan tanah. (3a) For kampongs outside the dalu Rahong, they may come if they want to, but they need not do so, and vice versa. They have their own tuan tanah. (3b) Isolated Veol families which live in kampongs among other va'u always come back, as otherwise there is no ritual life for them in relation to the ancestors, etc. (4) The Ndung and Veol folk, because they are nearby and of the same va'u, always come to each other's big feasts. (5) The Ndung area kampongs (Ndung gelarang) come to the Ndung feasts. Any of them may come to the Veol feasts too, and vice versa. The pattern in the gelarang Ndung is not so complex, as it is actually a branch of Veol.

527 574 756 The big feasts so treated are: (1) "New Year" which comes in November or December. It is not on any set day, but takes place when the gardens are all set and growing. The work is then over; (2) the building of a tuan tanah house; (3) a "buffalo feast," i.e., a cleansing of the kampong, a time decided by one of mbako, who decides that

527 We
574 troubles in the kampong are due to influences
756 which must be exorcised.

This led to a discussion of the mbako.
756 There are two to three mbako per kampong. They
[887] may be men or women, although they are usually men. They are called to work, a job which is not hereditary. They are always old people. They dream, see spirits (e.g., naga), look at their paraphernalia (for example, glass pieces, wood pieces), etc. However, there is no shamanism.

This led to a discussion of the secrecy surrounding the identity of the mbako. He is rather vague and said something about how they don't want to appear "proud." But this doesn't ring true, so I asked the mandur and he said it is because several mbako were imprisoned here because of witchcraft murders (what kind?). Anyway, here is the pattern of secrecy and fear which I see all over here.

166 Of those who have gone away, none has re-
574 turned to Yeol, as far as the assistant knows.
783 But there have been returnees to other kampongs.

If a returnee is a man who was imprisoned (note how often the jail theme comes up here; indeed the Dutch ruled by jails!) a feast must be given and buffalo killed. It is called the buka tali, to remove the rope. It also cleanses the returnee of the bad influence of the jail. When the Controleur Bedbeder and Pastor van Bekkum came back from Japanese imprisonment, wherever they went there was a buffalo feast in order to set them finally free.

166 If a family left the area without an argument,
574 then no feast is required on their return, un-
769 less it is a long time afterwards and they have come from far away. For example, a policeman or a soldier who has been away for a long while would go through such a ceremony. Then there must be a feast given for two purposes: to tell

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166 the ancestors that they are back, and to offer
574 something to all the relatives who have died
769 since they went away. This applies to an individual who has been away for a long time and at some distance. If a family departed in anger and with hot words, they must give a feast on their return with the sacrifice of an animal "to clean off the dirty talk."

166 They like to see people return, because they always like to see their kampong and va'u increase in population.

When they move they take with them movables, cattle, etc. If they have relatives in the new kampong, they are received easily. It is notable that the assistant says the ones who leave are always the younger branches, and so they have no status to lose. As for land, the situation is not too clear. I suppose they lose it.

166 If they are merely moving to some nearby
578 kampong, for example, within the same dalu,
614 there is little opposition. If it is within
769 Manggarai, it is not so bad. But if there is a desire to move really far off, there is great trouble, and a youth would probably have to sneak away. The assistant helped a brother of his to sneak off to become a soldier (I think). They try every means to keep them home. All relatives try hard in this. If someone leaves anyway, they have a feast and there is much mourning. The bonds are very close and strong.

One of the main reasons for this family resistance to leavers is because they do not want to have the population of the family, panga, or va'u lessened. There is a great fear of depleting the strength of these units. No greater catastrophe can take place than to become extinct. And I found a beautiful ancestor cult reason on the part of the old. The assistant says that the father mournfully asks, "Who

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000 and such is used in war.

Correction: When there is a big feast in the
621 central kampong, all members of the tjabang
574 kampongs must attend. However, if a big feast
171 is held at a tjabang kampong, it is a matter of choice whether the other tjabang kampongs and the pusat kampong attend. However, each must send a delegation. (This is like the big feasts in the Ambon pela kampongs. The pela radja and saniri must go, and others may do so if they want to.)

621 It is true that the pusat kampong has more
622 power in a way than the others. Its drums,
346 gongs, tjompang, main pillar of the tuan tanah
351 house, main garden (lingko randang), and the
788 tuan tanah besar himself are all part of this power. All others stem from these. However, the picture is not one of a clear hierarchy. Nevertheless, if a man is very sick, for example, they may decide that it is well to go to the tjompang of the pusat kampong and go through some ceremony. However, there is not a real vivid ranking or constellation of rank.

The assistant says that the round house and the round garden are definitely related. But here again he is unclear. The house is linked with the garden, and after the rites which are held in the garden, they come back to the main house. Also there is a saying: mbarun one uman peang, i.e., "house has link with garden." When a tuan tanah besar gives a drum and a gong to a new branch kampong, he also gives it a "big garden" (lingko randang). Here is where the biggest rites are held. (Lingko means only "round garden.") And when they have rites in the garden, they go directly from the lodok there to the main post in the tuan tanah house. Thus, there seems to be a definite link between
346 the main post of the big house and the main
351 garden's lodok. There is the same parading
788

War

178 outsider can buy land in the kampong. Also, the
425 kraeng privileges have been cut sharply. In
[422] regard to property in houses, things have remained the same except for the new private houses (see below). There has been no change in the personal articles and ceremonial objects.

423 The land is family-owned, but there are some
428 individual pieces (for example, the assistant's).
562 The kampong has eminent domain, and it is a tuan tanah's. When an old man dies, the land is divided, but the eldest son gets his choice and the larger share. If there is only one garden, he gets it. But generally each son gets a share. Women get no land. Personal effects are divided. They work the land as a family unit until the old man dies.

423 Houses which are large are the property of
178 the inhabitants, who build them. Thus ownership is communal. But a great change has taken place since they have been building single houses, e.g., the assistant's. The eldest son gets this new kind, after all others have married off.

574 I note the remarkable ease of sleeping in houses here. There is no fuss to put someone up. Thus the assistant slept in the tuan tanah's house last night in Veol, and tonight the tuan tanah will sleep in his house at Pau (they are going to talk much more, and he promised the tuan tanah some palm wine for which I paid).

462 As far as specialization goes, the women make mats, do the cooking, wash clothes, fetch water, do the gardening, sew, and take care of the children. They also care for the fowls and pigs. There is not a single sewing machine here. The women also pound grain.

Men plait songko, work in the gardens, carry on trade, gather wood, and do heavy work around the house, and care for buffaloes and horses

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769 more land here). However, the darat (tree spir-
778 its) who lived in the trees are still there on
776 the spot. When such a grove is cut (and most kampongs have a grove), elaborate rites must be given. It is evidently quite dangerous. Therefore, in addition to the darat in all groves, almost every kampong has its own private darat, who live in the kampong grove.

778 This is important: The assistant says that
769 whenever and wherever they have a ceremony they
273 must set a stone in the center of the place
782 where the rite is held. This stone has palm wine poured over it as a libation. The libation is indispensable, and therefore the stone is also indispensable. It evidently represents the ancestral ghosts, who must always get a drink at every rite. And they pour the drink carefully, as though they were pouring it into someone's mouth. Palm wine is hard to get here, but they will go great distances to get it for a ceremony, even though they may obtain only a little, as it is essential. I note the tremendous importance of alcohol all through here. They drink a lot, as I saw in Anam at the New Year feast (see later), and they like it. It seems to be a perfect case of giving the ancestors what they liked best in life.

I noticed another amazing thing, though it
[533] may be unconscious. When the singing teacher at the mission at the Sunday performance for me arranged the boys for a round singing dance (sanda), he put a stone in the center of the place! It was probably just a marker, but note how easily he set a stone there.

527 I do not know if I got information on all
241 the feasts, as the time was getting short, but
● 574 he gave them as follows:

(1) New Year. This usually comes in October or November or December. It may be later, but may not be held in the summer. It takes place when

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527 the gardens are all set and growing. The date
574 is uncertain. Each panga must contribute one
241 pig. At the New Year ceremony they dance,
sing, pray, etc. And from what I saw in Anam,
[273] they drink plenty. The main feast is held in
the central kampong of the va'u, but there is
no set order as to where the successive feasts
are held in order.

(2) There are many garden rites: for a new lodok, for a new clearing, for planting, for the first weeding, if there are many mice, and for harvest. The last mentioned is the biggest. Note that the ceremony for the mice is
[114] not the regular pantomime one described by Coolhaas.[1] This is not held here, but only in East Manggarai.

There is no rice mother here.

231 For the garden rites they usually sacrifice
527 pigs and fowls. A buffalo is sacrificed at
782 the rite for the new lodok, but it is killed
241 in the kampong at the tjompang (the animal is tied to the tree, and thus there is a clear relation between this and the peo of Nageh and the ngadu of Ngada; and note that both of these are forked as though they were cut-off trees; I saw this clearly in Anam, where a tjompang tree had had branches cut and it looked like a rudimentary peo! and note that the buffalo is tied here at the tree as at the peo or at the ngadu). Usually, only one buffalo is killed, and the buffalo is only for a new, main, round garden, i.e., a lingko randang.

242 This raised an interesting point that with
311 the need for rotation of gardens a new lingko randang must be planted every two years, because the soil becomes exhausted and must then lie fallow. At this time beasts graze there and fatten the land with manure. But here in Veol land is now lacking, and they must use the lingko randang and other lingko constantly, which is

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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764 they will encounter no big stones while digging, as this is a sign that more people will die. After the burial they return to the house and
[888] pray. If the person who died was old or a big
[554] man, they kill a buffalo. If the person was of lesser status, they kill only a pig or a fowl. Three days later, if the person who died was old or was a big man, they may kill two or three horses or buffaloes and eat them. At the same time, if the person was of lesser status, they will kill a pig or fowl.

[766] Clothes are placed on the grave of a person who dies a violent death. (See Coolhaas.)[1]

The local Catholics go through the same rites, except that they add on the church service.

[178] The big feasts for the dead dalu mentioned by Coolhaas[1] are no longer held. On such occasions they might wait quite a while. They killed up to perhaps ten buffaloes.

769 There is a very close relation between the ancestors and the death cult. The dead are always invited to feasts. There are no tombs, but the ancestor cult is strong.

●[574] Note: The whip duels are held at all big
526 feasts: New Year, harvest, illness, exorcism,
524 wedding, but not at the funeral.

All local recreation is native: tjatjih (whip duelling), tug of war, rope jumping (!), children's games like tag and hide and seek (he says they are the "hunter and hunted"), the bam-
[535] boo jumping dance (tekarulu). The dances are: sanda (round), sae (group and solo), danding (round). They play the rattan football (raga) and soccer.

526 The most loved of all is tjatjih. Cornelius says that to the best of his knowledge he has never known of any man being actually blinded, because the superorbitals protect the eyes. However, plenty of people get bad scars on their

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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124 sistant, Cornelius, was fine. I left him a stamped envelope and paper to get information on the bride price and mother's brother's daughter marriage frequency.

114 124 Van Bekkum[1] showed me a great volume typed before the war by an assistant of his on Manggarai marriage customs. It was only two-thirds done, and he needs another year to complete it. It is all planned out and indexed. It is monumental and should be translated and published. Van Bekkum says that only Cornelius could do the book. He also went on a several months field trip for the mission to Puluë Island, off the Maumere coast, where there was said to have been an aboriginal population. He has a manuscript on the buffalo sacrifice there.

He is a remarkable fellow and importuned me only a little for palm wine and tobacco for the old men.

574 123 [273] The last day we went along to the near end of the road, to kampong Anam, one of the dalu kampongs. Here there were plenty of kraeng with hangovers, and some still a bit drunk. This is a very large kampong, with perhaps a population of six hundred. There is a tjompang in it and several tuan tanah. At the tjompang, which had stones newly and nicely arranged, were sticks stuck with wood chips on them with rice and bits of other types of food, offered at the New Year feast. I was invited into the main tuan tanah house, and there I sat with lots of men in a circle, on mats and on mat cushions. Women played fine drum and gong music, and men sang fine sanda songs, with solos and choruses. [782] Hanging on the rafter near the center was the main naga bamboo food shelf, and in each family section along the walls were similar ones. Food was placed on them. The house was rectan- [342] gular (there are no more tuan tanah houses in

[1] [Pastor at Ruteng --Analyst]

342 this area which are round, because the rectan-
●574 gular ones last longer and the people like
123 them on this account, because all of them
must pay for a new one). They gave me roasted
bits of pork (tough and with plenty of fat),
and the palm beer, which was milky and strong.
I took photographs of them and they were
amazed.

342 This is a new kampong, and is merely named
[103] six (Anam). There are plenty of round houses,
but all of them with partly wooden walls. The
assistant says that there are still a fair
number of the real old style round houses with
no walls, especially in Tjibal.

574 In the afternoon I went to the mandur's house,
592 where he served a fine dish of ear corn, fresh
from the garden, and also some corn cooked by
steam in the leaves. We also had rice, etc.
He is a real host, and his old father talked
some. I took photographs of the family, includ-
ing his handsome wife. She is from Pongkor.
Plenty of her sisters seemed to be about, and
he said something about how this is quite usual
for a wife's sisters to live with her.

114 Finally we pulled out of Ruteng in the morn-
ing on January 31, expecting to ship out of Reo
that day. I stayed in Reo waiting two days.

[487] Going down the mountains I noticed that the
567 land was largely empty. The road led through
the dalu Tjibal. Down this road used to come
the slaves for shipping to Bima from Reo.
They were sold especially for firearms. Many
Manggarai descendants must be all over Indonesia,
because so many slaves were exported. Thus
there is a section "Manggarai" in Batavia. And
of course there are plenty in Bima.

114 In Reo, which is a poor place, I went to
Kedindi, the port, or rather the beach with
sheds of palm. There was no ship. Therefore
I went back to Reo and stayed at the pasanggra-